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MONTHLY.

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EDITED BY

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Revue des Deux Mondes.

2. Unity of Apostolic Doctrine.

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THE QUESTION OF THE UNITY OF THE HUMAN RACE,
AS AFFECTED BY DIFFERENCES OF COLOR, SIZE, AND INTELLECTUAL
DEVELOPMENT.*

BY M. QUADREFAGES.

OF all the characteristics presented by human groups, those which vary the most and within the widest limits are, without contradiction, the characters which depend upon color. For example, the skin changes from a rosy white to black; and really, for one who does not form an accurate conception of the nature of such changes, there is here somewhat to strike the mind. It is difficult, at first sight, not to believe that the skin in the negro and the white presents some radical differences, and this belief, which one states more or less distinctly to himself, has certainly much to do with the general tendency to admit the multiplicity of species. There is, however, nothing less justified than this conclusion drawn from outward appearances. Researches already ancient would permit us to presume this fact, which modern studies, aided by more delicate and rigorous processes, have placed utterly beyond all doubt. Whether we employ a methodical maceration, as M. Flourens has so successfully done, or, with MM. Krause, Simon, and Koelliker, call to our aid the microscope and chemical agents, we always come to the same conclusions, and these conclusions may be thus stated: the skin of the white man and that of the negro are composed of the same parts, of the same layers, arranged in the same order; in both, these layers present the same elements, associated or grouped in the same manner; upon an individual of the white race, we can find in various parts of the body the skin of the black man and the skin of the yellow man, (that is to say, the skin of the three extremes, which human groups present), with all their most intimate and profound characters. Let us endeavor to give an idea of the facts, on which these conclusions, at the same time so important and so little in harmony in appearance with the evidence of our senses, rest.

* Translated from the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, by Hon. SIMEON NASH, Gallipolis, Ohio.

In order the better to make ourselves understood, we will regard the skin, considered as a whole, as essentially composed of three layers, the *dermis*, the *epidermis*, and the *mucous body of Malpighi*. The first forms the hide, or the skin properly so called; it is more deeply situated and largely supplied with blood by a multitude of vessels infinitely ramified. It is to these that it owes the red tint, which it presents to the naked eye, when it is exhibited uncovered; but if we examine it by a sufficient magnifier, we perceive between the meshes of the vaseular net-work the proper tissues of which it is composed, and these tissues are as white in the Guinea negro as in the European. The epidermis is found wholly external, a layer of horny appearance, composed of translucent laminæ more or less intimately adhering to each other, and the demi-transparency of which permits us to perceive the general tint of the tissue placed below. This layer is entirely alike in all races.

It is between the dermis and epidermis that is found placed the mucous body, the seat of color. This is composed of cells pressed one against the other, and placed one over the other in a way to form a certain number of stratifications. Thus far again, all is alike in the negro and in the white; but in this last, the contents of the cells the lowest placed are, in most parts of the body, almost colorless, and present but a slightly yellowish tint: this color deepens in the yellow and white races themselves, when they assume the brown tint; finally in the negro, it becomes of a more or less brownish black. We here see to what is reduced this phenomenon of the different colors of the human races. In neither is there the appearance of any new organs or organic elements; there is but a color, which, starting from a mean term, deepens or lessens, and passes from one shade to the other in a way to become more or less prominent in each of these elements.

Such as it is, however, this fact might have been considered as having a real value in the present question, if it was constant; that is to say, if each special tint always accompanied more important characters peculiar to certain human groups; but this is not the case, and it is especially of man that we may repeat what Linneus said in reference to flowers—*nimum ne crede colori*.* All black men are not negroes; there are some of them, which

* Do not trust too much in color.

are attached by an indisputable and not remote relationship to the white populations. Finally, as we have said above, the Europeans, male and female, carry upon them, on various parts of the body, *specimens*, as we may say, of the characteristic skin of the principal human groups. M. Flourens has fully demonstrated that the mammary areola owes its special color only to the presence of a skin identical in every respect with that of the negro: M. Koellikèr has again found in a European, and in a part of the body difficult to name, a coloration of the cutaneous layers entirely resembling that which the head of a Malay had exhibited to him; M. Simon de Berlin has proved that the spots of redness and the beauty spots are nothing else than points where, without any alteration, the cells of the mucous body are colored as they are in the negro. Let me add to what I have already indicated certain other well-known facts, such as the multiplication of red spots under the influence of heat and the sun, and the change of the facial surface in pregnant women, etc. When with this collection of facts we compare certain observations relative to the changes of color cited in a former part of this work, we shall certainly be bound to conclude that the diverse tints which human groups offer are very far from having in anthropology the value which has for a long time been accorded to them, but is at this day generally denied.

If we examine in detail the phenomena of color which the eyes, the hair, or even the internal parts present, we should come to the same results. The blue, gray, and chestnut eyes are far from being rare among negroes; the best characterized population with a perfectly white skin have very often black hair. As to the deep color of the brain and certain membranes, which some have sought to make a distinctive sign of the negro, it has been very much exaggerated; and, if it exists in certain cases, there is nothing constant about it. The dissections, to-day very frequent, which are made in our amphitheatres on individuals belonging to this race, justify us in this assertion. Moreover, this internal coloration is not alone met with in the negro. In a recent work, M. Gubler, in summing up his numerous observations on this subject, has clearly shown that it is found, in various degrees, in Europeans, with a more or less deep tint; that it presents at times and in places an intensity as great as

in the negro, and that it is sometimes hereditary and sometimes personal.

This instability of the phenomena of coloring, and the facility with which they are produced, identically the same in human populations otherwise very different, and manifested at times in a way altogether isolated in individuals, agree as little as possible with the nature of characters calculated to distinguish a *species*, and remind us in every respect, on the contrary, of the facts which the *characters* of *race* present. Moreover, we find it again, and in a yet more decided degree, in our domestic animals. In them, the skin where exposed presents variations of tint not durable. The feet of our ordinary hens are sometimes whitish, more usually slate-colored; they have become black, olive, yellow, etc., in other races, some of which are of a very recent origin. The skin of the body even is yellowish in the Cochinchina hen; white in the Gallie; black in those dark species which are found in America, on the plain of Bogota; in Asia, at the Philippines, at Java; in Africa, at the Cape Verde Islands; and which would be developed very rapidly in certain countries of Europe, if we did not seek to arrest them on account of the disagreeable appearance which they present to consumers. In them, indeed, the black color does not stop on the surface of the body; it penetrates inward, as in Europeans and the negro of whom we have just spoken; only here it is much deeper, and invades all the mucous membranes, the periosteum, and the cellular sheaths which encircle the muscles, so that the entire flesh seems to be impregnated with it.

The feathers in birds, and the hair in mammals, represent the hair and villosity which with us cover the various parts of the body. It would be wholly useless to enter into details in order to demonstrate to the reader that this plumage and this skin-covering vary in the same domestic species in regard to color, within limits much more extended than the corresponding parts do in man. All know that the tints are here much more numerous, and that, moreover, they are mixed up, or placed along side of each other by plates, spots, bands, and in a hundred ways, which we never see on the human body. These differences are not the only ones which the teguments of different races present; they vary also in quantity. We have dogs with a thick fur, such as the island dog and the sheep dog, and others, whose skin

is entirely naked, like the race improperly called the Turkish race. Oxen present similar phenomena, and M. Roulin informs us that in descending the Cordilleras we may observe upon the animals all degrees of skin-covering, from the thickest to a perfect nudity of the skin. In the region of the grasses the oxen have remarkably long and thick hair; in the plains of Neiba and Mariquita there is formed a race which has only fine and scattered hairs. These oxen, designated under the name of *pelones*, are not in request, but are suffered to live. It is not so with the *colongos*, which are entirely destitute of hair. These are pitilessly slain, in order to prevent them from propagating; and, if they have hitherto remained as a variety, and have not constituted a race, it is clear that we owe it to this radical precaution. Finally, among birds and among mammals the plumage and the skin-covering change their quality according to the race. We know that the last have two sorts of hair, the wool and the jar, with which the down and the feathers in the first correspond. In our European fine-wooled sheep the jar has completely disappeared, except on the nose, ears, and feet; it exists, on the contrary, upon the sheep of Senegal and Guinea, and may be long or short according to the race. Similar facts have been observed in birds. In South America the hens have no down; on the other hand, the silk hen of Japan, recently found again perhaps by Madam Passy, is only covered with a fine, silky down, and is entirely destitute of feathers. Thus in two classes of animals, which supply nearly all our domestic species, the elements of the plumage or the skin-covering may be almost substituted for one another; both may be remarkably modified, both may be exaggerated in an evident manner, both may completely disappear, and all these facts characterize not *species*, but rather single *races*.

We do not observe such extremes in man. To whatever group he may belong, his head always remains covered with hair, and also, with a few exceptions, which are found in all the groups, we find more or less of villosity in those places where we possess it in a permanent manner. Some entire populations have the beard less thick than the Europeans; there exist none who are completely destitute of it. The opposite assertion, repeated upon various occasions by a number of authors, both ancient and modern, has always been refuted by more exact observations.

Herodotus and Ammianus Marcellinus have said that certain Asiatic populations were completely beardless; but Pollas informs us that the depilation, practiced with great care in infancy, alone gave them this appearance. Humboldt has shown that the same explanation is applicable to the pretended want of beard in the Americans, and D'Orbigny has fully confirmed what his illustrious predecessor had asserted on this point. As to the hair of so remarkable an aspect, which characterizes the various negro groups, it is truly wrong that one should distinguish them by an epithet which assimilates it to the wool of our flocks. It rather resembles the crisped hair of the horse's mane, but is in reality ordinary hair, only coarser and rougher than ours, and corresponding to the jar in mammals. Thus, in whatever point of view we may compare the feathers or the hairs of our domestic races with the hair and villosity of man, we ever meet, in the first, examples of variations much greater than in the most widely separated human groups. We shall see the same fact repeated in a permanent way in the comparative study of the other characters more important than those which have hitherto claimed our attention.

Let us speak first of the size. Here we shall find some very precise and significant figures. Daubenton and M. Isidore Geoffroy have given some tables indicating the length and height of the principle races of dogs, measured, one from the end of the nose to the origin of the tail, the other from the fore-quarters. In comparing the mountain dog and the little spaniel, we find that the length varies from 1 meter and 328 millimeters to 305 millimeters; the height, from 770 millimeters to 162.* Thus, in the first of the races in question, the body is more than four times longer than in the second, and the height is almost fivefold. In accordance with the reasons which we have already indicated, the greater part of the domestic species vary less than the dog; they do not the less, however, as to height, present some differences almost as remarkable. The nicard rabbit is hardly 20 meters in length; the ram rabbit attains even to 60 meters, that is to say, to three times the length. According to Daubenton, the height of the sheep rises, according to races, to 1 meter 19 centi-

* Meter, 3.28 feet; millimeter, 0.03937 inches. The figures are whole numbers and decimals. Centimeter, 0.3937 inches.

meters, or descends even to 325 millimeters; here again the relation is very nearly 1 to 3. Our ancient draft-horses from the banks of the Rhone, the horse of the English brewer, and a race of horses in Friesland, are often 1 millimeter 80 centimeters at the neck; the Shetland horse, according to David Low, is sometimes only 76 centimeters in height at the same place. It is then less in size than some dogs measured by M. Isidore Geoffroy, and the relation of the largest to the smallest race is yet more than double. This figure is so much the more remarkable as in general the attention given by man to this species has always had in view the elevation of the size, and the increase of the proportions, in order to render it better fitted to perform a greater part of the service which is demanded of it. An examination of goats, oxen, and hogs, would supply us with some analogous facts.

We will now ascertain the limits within which the stature of the human groups varies, and, passing by the intermediates, let us compare at once the two extreme races—the Patagonian and the Bushman. It is known that the height of the first has been singularly exaggerated. Pigafetta, the historian of the voyage of Magellan, and Oviedo, who rendered the same service for Loaysa, agree on thirteen feet in height (4 meters 20 centimeters); but this height is singularly reduced as the observations become more numerous and precise. Drake had already remarked that among his countrymen there were found individuals of a taller stature than the largest of the Patagonians. This opinion of the celebrated English admiral, after having been too much overlooked, has received an emphatic confirmation. Commerçon and Bougainville, after having passed several hours in the midst of a Patagonian group, estimated the height of these savages at five feet eight inches or six feet; but no traveller has studied this question with so much attention as Alcide d'Orbigny. He has sojourned in the country, observed individuals from numerous localities, and employed all necessary precautions in order to make sure of the identity of the populations which he examined with those of whom his predecessors had spoken, and especially taken precise measurements. Now, the height of the largest Patagonian which he measured was five feet eleven inches, (1 meter 915,) and the mean obtained by him is five feet four inches (1 meter 73.) D'Orbigny indicates, moreover, the circumstances

which may have misled any one, who should see only at a distance, or in passing, the men in question. To their tall stature they join athletic forms and shoulders remarkably broad, and they drape themselves in their mantles of skin in a way to produce an illusion, which this skillful traveler says he often fell into, all prepared as he was against it. Here, then, is in reality the height of the tallest race of men. Let us now see what is that of the smallest.

The Laplanders have for a long time passed for being the smallest race; but Capell Brooke, who lived a winter among them, and was able to measure a great number of them, has ascertained that their mean height was from five feet to five feet two inches, English, (from 1 meter 52 to 1 meter 67.) They are then larger than the Bushmen. Indeed, Barrow, who has taken the measures in a *kraal* of one hundred and fifty inhabitants, has found that the tallest man was but four feet nine inches English, (1 meter 44,) and the mean height, which he gives, is four feet six inches, (1 meter 31.) In comparing this figure with that which we just now cited for the Patagonians, we find that the relation of the greatest mean height to the smallest is represented by *one and three-tenths*—that is to say, that the first is very far from being double of the second. It is clear that the limit of the variations of height is three or four times less in man than in animals.

The study of the general proportions of the body leads to a similar conclusion. Let us compare, for example, the length of the trunk with that of the members. Here again the researches of Daubenton and M. Isidore Geoffroy upon dogs furnish some precise numbers. In the tables, which they have drawn up, we see that the small greyhound has a height at the fore-shoulders of 36 centimeters, and that 53 is the length of the body. In the basset, the height is 30 centimeters and the length 81. In the first case, the relation of the height to the length of the body is expressed by 0.68, and in the second by 0.37. These two comparisons vary then almost from single to double, and the difference depends especially, we know, upon the proportional length of the members. Other domestic species would present numbers not less significant, if we had corresponding measurements. Such especially is the sheep. We find also among them races with long legs, for example, the kirghise races; but there exists also

a race of very recent formation, to which we will recur again somewhat in detail—the *otter race* or the *ancon race*, which is developed in North America. This race is among sheep what the basset is among dogs, and to judge of it by the designs which we have seen, the relation of hight to length must be nearly the same.

In human groups, the relative proportion of the trunk and the limbs never varies to an extent at all comparable with what we find in the animal races. The polygenists have insisted, on various occasions, upon the length of the superior limb, and especially of the fore-arm in the negro. In general, this length is a little greater than in the white man; but do we here see a difference comparable to that which the greyhound and the basset, our sheep and the otter sheep, present? Our readers are able to judge of it for themselves. We will say as much of the legs of the Hindoo compared with those of the European. Were the difference as great as some travelers affirm, there would be nothing in the fact which would compare with what we have stated, and with what every one knows to exist among animals.

Besides, the exaggerations in relation to the variations of hight and proportion in human groups are easily explained by a fact too often forgotten. When the question turns upon our species and certain details of external organization, the eye, in consequence of the education which it has undergone, possesses a rigor of appreciation which renders the least modification quickly perceptible. All know with what promptitude we seize the differences of hight of a few millimeters, and how even we exaggerate them to ourselves. It is almost always the same where the question relates to the proportion of the various parts of the body among themselves. There is nothing easier than to be convinced of this in some of the public baths, where the population of our great cities exhibit so many sad examples of almost all possible deformities. At the sight of some of these badly constructed specimens of the human form, we say to ourselves at once, making use of a vulgar expression, "They are all legs." Let us look more closely, let us compare them with other individuals of the same total hight, and we shall see that there is scarcely a difference of a few centimeters, between the length of the legs. In the ordinary man, reckoning the hight at 1 meter and 75 centimeters, the length of the arms, from the articulation in

the shoulder to the end of the fingers, is about 75 centimeters; that of the legs, from the point below the hip to the heel is about 80 centimeters. Let one subtract or add in thought 10 or 12 centimeters only (3.9 inch or 4.71 inch) either to the superior limb or to the inferior one, and who will not see that there would result a real deformity, calculated to strike us at the first glance? And yet we should have lengthened or shortened these limbs, the first but a seventh, and the second but an eighth. Between the negro and the white, and between the Hindoo and the European, the difference is very far from being so considerable, while we have seen these same parts to vary from one to two between one animal race and another, all the proportions being preserved. Here again the limit of variation is clearly much greater in animals than in man.

Every variation in light and proportion necessarily bears upon the osseous system, which forms the frame of the body; but the skeleton may yet be affected, and even in its most central parts, in various other ways. All things, however, being equal, the trunk, for example, may be, in the same species, either longer or shorter, according to the races. Ordinarily these differences depend upon the lengthening or shortening of the vertebræ, the number of which, however, remains fixed. Sometimes also this member itself varies. Hogs are remarkable in this respect. According to Eyton, whom M. Godron cites, there may exist from thirteen to fifteen dorsal vertebræ, from four to six lumbar and sacral vertebræ. These variations are much wider still in the tail, the skeleton of which is nothing but a prolongation of the vertebral column; we find, says Eyton again, from thirteen to twenty-three osselets, and all these differences become hereditary in certain porcine races in England. M. Frederic Cuvier had already remarked that the tail of the dog contains from sixteen to twenty-one vertebræ. Besides, this appendage is one of those which, in many domestic species, present the most considerable modifications. In the sheep in particular, as Pollas and D. Low inform us, the tail sometimes almost entirely disappears in certain Persian, Abyssinian, and Tartar races; sometimes, on the contrary, it is lengthened to such a degree as to be drawn on the ground, as in certain sheep of the Ukraine, Podolia, Wales, etc. It is habitually very lean, but it is also known that it is sometimes loaded with enormous fatty bunches, weighing according to Chardin, more than thirty pounds,

and requiring the use of artificial means to support this inconvenient burden and facilitate the movements of the animals.

Does man present the least fact, which can be compared with the preceding one? Evidently not. In human groups, the number of pieces, which enter into the composition of the vertebral column, properly so called, remains always and every-where the same. If at times individuals have been met with presenting more or fewer vertebræ, these facts are gathered up and pointed out on account of their rarity; and, far from forming the character of a race, they remain entirely isolated. As to the prolongation of the vertebral column, which in us corresponds to the tail in animals, and which is called the coccyx, there is ground, within the last few years, for discussion. The question of men with tails, which was long since supposed to be resolved, has again been brought upon the tapis, and it is difficult entirely to pass over it in silence. What, then, is there of truth in what ancient and modern testimony furnishes upon this subject—testimony coming, in some cases, from persons evidently worthy of credit? There is here nothing but what is very simple. Man, in an embryonic state, has a tail—proportionally as long as the dog. In the process of the development and metamorphosis, this tail is found changed into the coccyx. A stoppage in the metamorphosis of this part would then be sufficient, in order to present in man a caudal prolongation, sensibly longer than that which he possesses in a normal state. Now, we know that such stoppages have been frequently observed in almost all the organs. There would then be nothing strange if the fact, so much controverted, should be realized in some individuals. However, while admitting that it might be so, which is not proved—while admitting, moreover, that this singular conformation might become hereditary, and that the history of the famous Niam-Niams might not be a fable—this modification would yet be a very small matter, compared with those which the tails of the various races of sheep daily exhibit to us. Thus, neither in its essential part nor in its exterior prolongation, does the vertebral column of man present any variations to be compared with those which we meet with in our domestic races, and which characterize them.

We have insisted somewhat in detail upon the preceding characters, because the results of the comparison which we seek to establish between the animal races and human groups can be trans-

lated into figures, and expressed with sufficient facility in words. We will pass more lightly over the facts, which, in order to be appreciated, would at least require some very exact and numerous figures. Such are those which are drawn from the study of the bones of the head. Daubenton and Blumenbaeh had already remarked that, from the head of the wild boar to that of the domestic hog, the characters varied more than from the head of the white to that of the negro. Prichard, in reproducing this opinion, the accuracy of which it is so easy to verify, has justly extended it to the heads of the various races of dogs. If we place on one side the heads of the white and negro the best characterized, and on the other the first found heads of the house-dog, the water-spaniel, the greyhound, etc., it is impossible not to see, at the first glance, that the differences are much greater in the second group than in the first. In man nothing will strike the inexperienced eye, with the exception perhaps of the *prognathism*, that is to say, a slight projection forward of the jaw-bones and the teeth. In the dogs, on the contrary, one will see at once that the form and the proportions in almost all parts vary in a most marked manner. Unfortunately, without running into details altogether technical and difficult for even professed naturalists to follow, we can not here give an idea of these modifications, and we shall refer the reader disposed to verify the accuracy of our assertions to the details given by Frederic Cuvier in a special work, to the plates which Prichard had added to his abridgment of his *Natural History of Man*, and especially to the skeletons which constitute a part of the collections of the museum. However prejudiced one may be, he will certainly be compelled to acknowledge that the skeleton of the head varies from one race of our domestic animals to another, much more than among human groups.

The study of functions would give results altogether similar to those which we obtain by an examination of organs. Confining ourselves to a single example, we observe that woman is everywhere fruitful, and at all seasons, and that the extreme limits of her fecundity are never as widely separated as they are between races in the species which we have cited. The same is equally true of the instinctive and psychological faculties. In animals these faculties vary under the influence of man or new conditions of existence. The wild boar, it is known, retires daily into his den, and comes forth hardly ever except by night. The hog, on

the contrary, sleeps during the night and wakes during the day. Under the empire of domesticity, the wild boar has become a diurnal animal from a nocturnal one, which he naturally was. The beaver, in America as well as in Europe, disturbed in his repose and tracked by the hunter, has completely modified the kind of life which constituted him one of the most curious examples to study when one wished to form an opinion of what instinct and intelligence were in animals. In lieu of uniting into large families, of building dams and cabins, he has set himself to live alone, and to dig for himself a hole. Social and builder as he was, he has become solitary and a digger. In the two cases which I have cited, there is, so to say, an inversion of native faculties, and I do not believe that any thing similar in man can be cited.

In support of this conclusion, in support of all which precedes, I should love to examine here, somewhat in detail, some of the least favored groups among human populations. There are especially three whose history would be singularly instructive. At all times, the polygenists have tended to exaggerate beyond measure the distance which exists between these groups. Not being able to raise the whites above the level which we all know, they have been forced to exceed very much the real inferior limit, and to place lower and lower the populations the worst supplied with physical beauty or intellectual aptitudes. They have, then, been drawn to attach them as closely as possible to animals themselves. Hence, all the efforts which have been at first tried to find resemblances and identities between certain anthropomorphic apes and the negro. The black men were declared to be incapable of civilization; one spoke of their *snout*, and in spite of what Desmoulins, a naturalist, very little to be suspected in this respect, might have said, it was maintained that the brain of the negro and that of the orang-outang presented striking resemblances. However, when Africa became open to our intrepid travelers, when we knew the Dahomans, the Fantis, and the Aschanti, when we had ascertained to a certainty that there existed cities and arts and a negro civilization, it was necessary, elsewhere, to search for that species of man which ought, according to certain theories, to serve as the intermediary between the white man and the brute. They then threw themselves upon the Hottentots, and repeated on that subject, by aggravating it in a very notable manner, all that had been said of the negroes. The refutation was furnished by information

supplied by Levaillant, and confirmed, from year to year, by other travelers and missionaries. Because one was a shepherd and a nomad, and rubbed the body with grease or rancid butter, it did not follow that he could be compared to an ape. Finally, they addressed themselves to the Australians, and this time they traced the picture of the most complete degradation. To be declared absolutely destitute of religion, laws, arts, and industries, to be proclaimed totally incapable of rising in any way in civilization, were certainly the mildest reproaches addressed to this unhappy population. Physically, it was not to the orang-outang that one compared the Australian, but to the mandril.* As to morality, let us see how an English author sums up all he has said of them: "In a word, they have all the bad things which humanity ought never to present, and many more at which the apes, their congeners, would blush." It would seem that the progression has been rapid, if we must compare the African negro with the ape; it was at any rate a superior ape. One makes of the Australian an inferior and vitiated ape. What is there of truth in these darkened pictures? Nothing, except that the Australian is one of the lowest representatives of humanity. Has he, on this account, lost the imprint of the human type? Have the characters of the kingdom and the species disappeared? No! with him, as with the negro and the Hottentot, more accurate information has done justice to these inaccurate assertions, based altogether upon incomplete observations and rash generalizations, sometimes upon worse motives. In order to justify our assertions, let us indicate some of the features of the history of this group according to information furnished by some eminent men who have lived in Australia, fathomed the mysteries of this almost unknown part of the world, and really studied and compared the various populations which inhabit it.

And first, do the Australians stand as low physically as have asserted not only Bory Saint Vincent and those who repeat his assertion, but also some travelers, who did but touch the land, and then judged an entire continent by some points where they happened to stop? Mitchell and Pickering shall answer for us. The first describes his guide Yulliyalli, as *a perfect specimen of humanity*, the equal of whom it would be impossible to find in

* An inferior race of apes.

those communities which wear clothing and shoes. And this not an exception. The English traveler refers repeatedly to the physical *perfection of these human machines*, developed in full liberty. Pickering, the companion of Captain Wilkes, in the great scientific expedition of the United States, confirms in every particular this judgment; he declares never to have anywhere met with that excessive leanness of the extremities, so often given as one of the *characters* of the Australians, and treats as simple caricatures most of the engravings of the race, which have been published. Out of thirty individuals from the interior, he declares that he saw few of them who were of remarkable ugliness, while others, contrary to all previous ideas, had the face decidedly fine. He concludes his observations by saying: "Strange thing! I regard the Australian as the most beautiful model of human proportions in respect to muscular development. He combines the most perfect symmetry with force and activity; while his head may be compared to the ancient bust of some philosopher." This, we see, is very far from the opinions expressed which appear in some very recent works. It is evidently necessary to give up the attempt to find, in the general form of the body and exterior characters, differences sufficiently great to separate the Australian from the human species represented by the whites.

Are the polygenists better supported when resting their opinions upon the differences of an intellectual order, and the manifestations which spring from these? Industry, for example; is there none of it among the Australians? Bory affirms it; he has pretended that these people know neither how to construct a temporary cabin, nor to arm themselves with any thing else than stakes, rudely dressed, and sharpened at each end. All these assertions have been repeated. Bory forgot the facts already observed by Perron, during his stay at Entracht Land; and from which it results that the natives knew how to hollow for themselves in a friable rock lodgings, the sides of which presented cavities for the purpose of there placing their *utensils*. He forgot that the same Perron had brought back from Australia a stone hatchet, fixed to its handle by a mastic of such hardness that it excited the astonishment of all our chemists, and of which one of them, Laugier, wished to make an analysis. He forgot that there had been found in these same countries very varied arms

for hunting and war. Since that epoch, our information is yet more complete; but, without speaking of the most recent, how does it happen that what Captain Stuart collected on the voyage, which led him to the banks of the Murray, as far back as 1831, is certainly passed over in silence? Is it a people like that which Bory and his successors have painted, who build permanent huts capable of lodging from twelve to fifteen persons; who have invented the bark canoe; who have woven nets well fitted, some with large meshes for hunting the kangaroo, others with small meshes for catching fish, and some of them even eighty feet in length? From these facts, we might justly conclude that the Australians possess in reality the most at least of the elementary industries which are found among savage tribes; but, what is still more significant, Dr. Cunningham, who has made to New South Wales four voyages in the capacity of chief surgeon of the vessels destined for the transportation of *convicts*, and staid in that colony for two years, who has studied with care the native population, and who is any thing but an admirer of these people, found the Australians lively, playful, inquisitive, and intelligent. He ascertained that they learn to read and write almost as rapidly as the Europeans, and all speak and understand English very well. They very easily seize hold of the ridiculous, and appreciate at the first glance social differences. The New Hollanders of whom Cunningham speaks, are those of Sydney and its environs; but he declares repeatedly that there exist populations very superior to these which surround that colony. Let us, however, take these for a term of comparison. Is there, in the intellectual portrait which we have sketched, a single feature which authorizes us to make of them a separate species?

It has been said and repeated that the Australians are incapable of rising above the level where they were found by the first navigators. This is again an assertion which is found to be contradicted by facts. When we seriously set ourselves to the education of the inhabitants of New Holland, they have promptly responded to our attentions, as appears from the information furnished by Dawson, Cunningham, etc. Individuals who have, like Daniel and Benilong, been brought into England, and introduced into polished society, have become true *gentlemen*, according to the admission even of those whose opinions we are combating. If, when restored to Australia, they have in the end returned to sav-

age life, who can be astonished at it, when he reflects upon the position which the prejudice of color assigns to the negro in the colonies, especially in the English colonies; to the irresistible attraction which the desert and its independence exert even over the whites who have once tasted of them; and also to those *hereditary instincts* which characterize so distinctly certain races? Perhaps it may be said that those are only individual examples, which prove nothing as to the masses; but here is a wholly different fact, borrowed from a review which may be called local, and which shows that some populations may be very easily regenerated in the mass. Mr. Bateman and some Englishmen went to Port Philip, on the south side of Australia, with the design of there forming an agricultural establishment. They were very soon struck with the civilization of the inhabitants of this region, whom they found much better clothed and lodged, and better supplied with furniture and provided with all necessary articles than their fellow-countrymen. A few days after, this phenomenon of relative improvement was explained by the appearance of a white man, clothed in a frock-coat, made from the skin of a kangaroo. He was an old grenadier of the English army, named William Buckley, who, sent to that region at the time of the first attempt at colonization made in 1803, had escaped, and lived thirty-three years with the natives. It was not long before he became their chief, and under his direction they had attained the point which so much astonished the new colonists. This was the effect which the isolated influence of a single soldier had produced in savages declared wholly incapable of any progress.

Besides, let us see in what terms M. de Blosseville states, in his remarkable work upon Australia, the latest information, collected especially in the South. "The dearness of handwork has imparted a value to the labor hitherto unemployed of these wandering tribes. It appears that, when interest demands, they do not remain unintelligent witnesses of the useful arts, and that their huts and housekeeping are neatly kept. In 1853, two hundred thousand sheep were under the care of native shepherds. One of the principal commissioners employed no other workmen. They readily became brick-makers, wood-choppers, cattle-drivers, and even constables for their own race." Along side of these Australian populations, evidently entered upon the road of civilization, the same author points out the posterity of the convicts which

have escaped from the penal colonies scattered among the little islands, and much nearer a savage state than a degraded civilization. Thus, in Australia, the *white man* sinks as the *black man* rises. This testimony is certainly a complete refutation of all the polygenist assertions, and is so much the more decisive since the author who has furnished it never even thought, while tracing the lines which have just been quoted, of the question now under discussion.

Even when left to their own nature, the Australians are very far from having fallen as low as is pretended. It has been said that the family no longer exists among them. The shameful facility of the wives, and the indifference of the husbands, have been constantly insisted upon; but these examples are selected only from the tribes bordering upon Sidney—tribes whom civilization has corrupted, as it too often has done elsewhere. In some other regions it is not the same. Dawson, on the contrary, traces a very patriarchal picture of the Australian family. It has again been said and repeated that they possess no vestige of the social state; that they always wander about in groups composed, at most, of one or two families. Long since, however, Gray and De Long showed that there exists among them a division into clans, which are themselves subdivided into tribes and families, the name of which is found in that of the individuals. They gave a list of these clans, and exhibited the usages, which remind us, at the same time, of the institution of the *tabu* of the Polynesians and the *totem* of the Americans. Moreover, Stuart has discovered the existence of very numerous villages, composed, sometimes, of sixty or seventy cabins, and containing from eight hundred to one thousand inhabitants. It has been said, and it is even yet asserted, that the Australians have no idea of property, yet the authors whom we have already cited have discovered that each tribe possesses its own lands, the limits of which, habitually respected, are never crossed but in case of war, or upon a formal invitation, and that this right of property also extends to the family. We might multiply these contradictions between the assertions of the polygenists and the testimony of men who, while residing upon the spot, have taken the pains seriously to study these calumniated populations; but we think we have said enough to demonstrate that, in whatever point of view we look at them, the intellectual faculties of the New Hollanders do not differ from

those of white men, except in a lower degree of development, and that the *variation* here remains much on this side of the limits which we have seen to occur between the different races of animals of the same species.

Not less disfigured has been the picture of the good or bad moral qualities of the Australians. There have been attributed to them the vices, which they have, in common, not only with savages in general, but also with nations the furthest civilized, such as the desire of revenge, drunkenness, and the looseness of morals which is observed to prevail in great cities, while all those facts, brought to light sometimes by the same author, and which prove how accessible are their hearts to the gentlest and noblest sentiments, to family affections, to conjugal love, and to the loveliest gratitude for the slightest services, are overlooked and forgotten. Once deceived by a white man, the Australian never trusts him again; he resorts to reprisals, but Dawson remarks that he acts with perfect good faith toward the man who has known how to merit his confidence. Cunningham has discovered in this people the sense of *honor* exhibited in veritable duels, where all takes place according to rules from which one can not escape without disgrace. Finally, here is a fact which we borrow from Captain Stuart, proving that the spirit of chivalry, as it was understood by the noblest paladins, is not a stranger to these pretended demi-brutes. Two Irish escaped convicts got into a quarrel with the natives among whom they had fled. They came to blows, but the Europeans were without arms. Before attacking them, the Australians furnished them with some, in order that they might defend themselves, after which they fought and slew them.

It is manifest that every trace of religion would be denied to the Australians. Here, as usual, the facts do not support the assertion. A belief in spirits and a dread of ghosts has been found to exist among all the tribes. Among them all, also, the dead are buried with peculiar ceremonies. Lieutenant Britton had an opportunity of seeing the funeral rites of the nomads of the banks of the Wollomby. Without describing them in detail, we may remark that the tombs, which are very regular, are encircled with rings of bark, designed to protect them against the attacks of the bad genii, and that arms are there deposited, in order that the dead man, when he shall come forth, may find them within his reach, and be able to use them against his enemies.

Surely this is enough to show that the notion of another life exists among the Australians. As to the idea of beings superior to man and capable of acting upon him for weal or woe; this also has been found wherever it has been sought. In all the tribes, we discover a belief, common to so many people, in a spirit of good, and a spirit of evil. In the environs of Sidney, the spirit of good is called Coyan. He is invoked whenever lost children are to be sought for. In order to render him favorable in such cases, an offering of darts is made to him; if the search is vain, it is concluded that Coyan has been irritated in some way. The bad genius is called Potoyan; he roams during the night around the cabins, seeking to devour their inhabitants. Along side of their superior divinities, the Australian places some secondary genii, among others the *wanguls*, aquatic monsters, which remind one of the *kelpies* of Scotland, and the *balunbols*, a species of angels, or rather fairies of the woods, which live on honey. All that Cunningham has told us respecting their beliefs is confirmed by the information collected by Wilkes from the missionaries of Wellington. The names only are different, for the reason that the dialects spoken in Australia are different, and this fact suggests to us a last remark, the importance of which will be readily understood.

The polygenists, seeing different species in the human groups, are inevitably led to circumscribe them in a trenchant manner, to refer to each of them as being peculiar to it, some physical, intellectual, or moral traits, of which they make so many *special characters*. They do not fail to act in this way with the Australian, and it is to this tendency that it is especially necessary to attribute what has been said of the features of their face, and the proportions of their limbs, represented as wholly exceptional. The same assertions are made in reference to their language. It has been almost denied that they have a language, properly so called, and are able to emit sounds truly articulated. In a linguistic as well as in a physical point of view, many have represented them as beings wholly unique. Now, of these two alleged facts one is no more true than the other. We have seen above what we are obliged to accept respecting size. Let us add that the Australian population is by no means homogeneous, but that between the different tribes there are some decided physical differences to such an extent, that Cunningham speaks

of tribes with a copper tint. Finally, let us cite a very remarkable fact: Pickering has discovered among the Drawidian nomads of India, individuals who exhibit all the characteristic features of the Australians, so that, to judge of them solely from physical resemblance, these populations, separated from each other by such great distances, would still be very nearly related.

Indeed, it is precisely to this result that the comparison of languages has led us. In his excellent work, entitled *The Earth and Man*, M. Alfred Maury has restored and sanctioned by his authority the conclusions to which M. Logan had arrived. Another philologist, whom the use of oriental languages renders so much the more fitted to approach this question, and who has made them a special study, M. Rumer-Bey, has desired to state for us the fruit of his researches on this subject. All their labors fully agree and come to the same conclusions. The Australian idioms, although numerous and varied, are all branches of one fundamental language: this presents such resemblances with the Drawidian languages of India that we can not separate them, and we are led to unite them in the same family. Thus philology, as well as physical characters, far from isolating the Australians, attaches them to continental populations. Finally, these two orders of ideas and facts, harmonious in this as in every other respect, evince a mixture of blood and languages, so that, far from being a *species apart*, the Australians do not form a *pure race*, and are manifestly the product of the crossing of the true oriental negroes with a yellow or Malay element.

And now let us draw from all these individual facts, which we have here presented, the general consequence which naturally flows from them. Struck with the differences which exist among human groups, the polygenists have thought that they could not account for them without admitting the existence of many *species* of men. Now, an attentive study demonstrates that, in a natural point of view, these differences fully belong to the order of those which the vegetable and animal races present. Moreover, it follows from a rigorous comparison that, in relation to *extent*, the animal races exhibit between themselves variations more considerable in every respect than human populations the most widely separated. In order to draw from these facts all their legitimate consequences, we should be right in concluding that in themselves they render the doctrine of unity more probable

than the opposite doctrine. We do not, however, yet wish to go to that extent, and we restrict ourselves to saying: in order to explain the diversity of human groups, it is useless to have recourse to the hypotheses of the *multiplicity of species*; the *multiplicity of races and the unity of species* are sufficient. The argument, drawn by the polygenists from the differences existing between these groups possess, then, no value.

FUTURE PUNISHMENT.

LET the fairest star, therefore, be selected, like a beautiful island in the vast and shoreless sea of the azure heavens, as the future home of the criminals from the earth, and let these possess whatever they most love, and all that it is *possible* for God to bestow; let them be endowed with undying bodies, and with minds which shall forever retain their intellectual powers; let no Savior ever press his claims upon them, no Holy Spirit visit them, no God reveal himself to them, no Sabbath ever dawn upon them, no saint ever live among them, no prayer ever be heard within their borders; but let society exist there forever, smitten only by the leprosy of hatred to God, and with utter selfishness as its all-prevailing and eternal purpose, then, as sure as the law of righteousness exists, on which rests the throne of God and the government of the universe, a society so constituted must work out for itself a hell of solitary and bitter suffering, to which there is no limit except the capacity of a finite nature! Alas! the spirit that is without love to its God or to its neighbor is already possessed by a power which must at last create for its own self-torment a worm that will never die, and a flame that can never more be quenched!
—*Dr. Norman Macleod.*

UNITY OF APOSTOLIC DOCTRINE.*

THE four great typical systems of apostolic doctrine are those of James, Peter, Paul, and John, as contained in their respective epistles, illustrated from other sources ; such as the discourses of James, Peter, and Paul, in the Acts of the Apostles, and the Apocalypse and Gospel, written by John. The doctrinal representations, in so far as they are disclosed in these records, bear indisputable marks of variety, individuality, and diversity. Each mind receives and gives its own measure of the truth. It has been said that their differences from one another are determined by the mode in which they regard the relation of the Gospel to the Jewish economy. We think this is not their source, but only one manifestation of the modes in which they severally regard the truth of Christianity—modes which were determined by the fundamental difference of their moral nature, and which were all necessary to the adequate setting forth in the world of this infinite subject.

James may be styled the Apostle of *Law* and *Obedience*. With him the moral law of the Old Testament has been transformed, with a glory that excelleth, into the spiritual law of liberty. Peter may be styled the Apostle of *Prophecy* and of *Hope*. The achievements of Christ have fulfilled all that the Prophets have foretold, “unto whom it was revealed, that not unto themselves, but unto us, they did minister the things which are now reported unto you.” And his ardent spirit gazes ever in prophetic hope “upon the glory that shall be revealed.” Hope flashes her radiance over the brief pages of his letters ; for the victory and glory of his Lord are yet to be consummated. Paul may be styled the Apostle of *Righteousness*, and reconciliation with God in Christ. The mighty synthesis of his doctrine we can not even sketch, nor is it needed. And John is the Apostle of *Love*—God’s love, and man’s love.

In this arrangement of these great systems of doctrine, we recognize unity, and, more, progress ; a harmony which swells with

* From an article on *Apostolic Doctrine*, in the *London Quarterly Review*, for April, 1865.

ever-rising tones, till it is lost in heavenly Allelujahs of love. But it is the agreement and unity of these systems that we now maintain. Paul's doctrine, as the most fully expounded, is taken as the standard; and with it we have reserved space only to indicate, in a few words, the argument of the Apostle James. We note then, in the Epistle of James, these points: The foundation of his argument is Faith. He is a servant of God and of Jesus Christ, to whom his faith is given; and he addresses his brethren of like faith, (James ii, 1.) This faith is to be perfected by trial, (i, 3,) and by works, (ii, 22.) This faith, which is real, and perfecting itself by works, is imputed for righteousness, (ii, 23;) this faith works by love, (i, 27; ii, 13.) Salvation is by the word of God, (i, 18-21.) The forgiveness of sins is of the Lord, (v, 15.) The soul is born anew of God, (i, 18.) Every good gift is of God, (i, 5;) so that our salvation is wholly of grace, (iv, 12.) Faith gives the energy to obey the law, and perfects in this obedience the entire soul, (i, 4; ii, 17-26.) The law becomes thus the "law of liberty," (ii, 12,) the "royal law," (ii, 8.) The Lord Jesus Christ is his own Lord, and the Lord of every believer. He hears prayer: He is the Lord of Glory, before whom all believers humble themselves. He regards now the iniquity of the wrong-doer, (v, 4.) He shall reward those who love Him "with a crown of life," (i, 12;) "for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh," (iv, 12.)

We believe that this analysis suffices to prove the identity of this doctrine with that of Paul. We need not adduce the passages from Paul which discover this identity. Faith, indeed, is here regarded in relation to the Lord's righteous law, which must be obeyed; there is no explicit reference, therefore, to the atonement of Jesus, but the whole scheme of salvation, based on that great fact, is distinctly set forth, so that it is continually implied. In Peter's Epistles, the doctrine, which is recognized as Pauline, is so clearly enunciated that they are set down by the Tübingen school as writings by one of the Pauline sect in the second century. We need not expound this agreement in detail. Our space forbids our exposition of the grand doctrinal system of the Apostle John. Yet, assuredly, there is here the same Gospel, having one Lord, one faith, one hope. This concord of faith insures the triumph of the Church, which this apostle reveals; for by him we are told of those who "overcome by the blood of the Lamb."

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